# 1AC Astro Modernity

## 1

#### Earth… Your Oasis In Space – Where The Air Is Free and Breathing Is Easy”

#### “Kepler-186f – Where The Grass Is Always REDDER On The Other Side”

#### “Visit Beautiful Southern Encelarus – More Than 100 Breathtaking Geysers! The Home Of “Cold Faithful” – Booking Tours Now”

#### Earth - JPL Travel PosterKepler-186f - JPL Travel PosterC:\Users\rubix\Downloads\image.png

#### These slogans emerged from NASA’s 2010 art series boldly entitled “Visions of the Future.” These nostalgic retro posters depicted white heterosexual couples on commercial vacations to exotic planets, rollercoastering through asteroid belts, and planting their white picket fences in front of wild, alien forests. This frontier are coded to invite the expansion of racial capitalism as the necessary condition of the future of “all humankind”.

#### This dystopic future is not just symbolic, it is legal – Obama’s 2010 “national space policy” stated: “The US is committed to… facilitating the growth of a… private space that supports U.S. needs… [and] advances US leadership in the generation of new markets.” The 2015 “SPACE Act” cemented this vision of the future, signaling the beginning of the regime of NewSpace forwarding us too today

#### We have the most guarded secret in the world, the existence of the Afronauts, the first ever space-travelling bodies. Space exploration started when Africans were forcefully captured onto the mothership and transferred across the Middle Passage as Slaves, abducted by aliens. This process of captivity rendered them into the Hold, the confines of permanence within the wake. For the Afronauts, space policy is not something on the “brink” or “inherent” because they are always already locked into a constant positionality of flight in outer space.

**Erickson ‘16** (Erickson, Brad. "George Clinton and David Bowie: The Space Race in Black and White." Popular Music and Society 39.5 (2016): 563-578.)//Elmer + Raunak

Exile and Mobility In 1976, in a dramatic landing before an enraptured crowd, Clinton first **disembarked from the Mothership**, a 1,200-pound aluminum spacecraft. The Smithsonian has acquired the Mothership, which will be the jewel of the permanent collection of its National Museum of African American History and Culture. That a stage prop could become the Museum’s central artifact hinges on space travel as an extension of the key theme of movement and transit in black liberation. Following the hellish descent of the Middle Passage, black freedom emerges through a series of travel narratives: the Underground Railroad’s deliverance from bondage; the exodus from southern sharecropping to factory jobs in the North; Marcus Garvey’s Black Star Line, which proposed to return African Americans to their homeland; and marching, every footstep articulating a demand, culminating in the massive 1963 March on Washington and the Staple Singers’ exhortation to “March for freedom’s highway.”15 The linked themes of mobility and liberation extend through the sphere of entertainment. Since the 1920s, the exhibition basketball team called the Harlem Globetrotters has combined global mobility with theatrical table-turning. Melding high levels of athleticism with playful clowning, they have defeated the all-white Washington Generals in an estimated 14,000 games.16 A year before the release of Mothership Connection, African-American stars such as the Spinners, James Brown, and Bill Withers flew to Africa for the Zaire ‘74 concert followed by the “Rumble in the Jungle,” the Kinshasa heavyweight championship fight between George Foreman and Muhammad Ali.17 The initial name for the match had been “From Slave Ship to the Championship,” but a financial backer who feared losing white audiences insisted on the change.18 The galaxy-trotting Mothership represents another leap forward in black mobility and a new symbolic articulation of freedom. Dwandalyn R. Reece, the museum’s curator of music and performing arts, said, “Funk is not just a good groove, it was its own kind of social protest movement” (Richards). And I would be remiss not to address the correlation between explorations of outer space and inner space during the psychedelic era. Funkadelic members were enthusiastic users of LSD, which, as Clinton put it, provided “easy travel to other regions of your personality” (66). Despite his free exploration of new possibilities, Clinton remained aware that even **the skies were different for black and white**. Once, on the way to a show, Funkadelic was on the same plane as Detroit’s MC5. Clinton said “Everybody was smoking weed, but we were doing it subtly and politely while they were loud and obnoxious. We kept telling them to shut the fuck up. ‘If the police come on this plane,’ we said. ‘they’re going to get us because we’re [blacks].’” When the plane landed, the police boarded, searched the black passengers, and found marijuana on Funkadelic members Billy and Tiki (78). Pushing back against the constraints of racism on possibility, Star Child declares that **black people were already in space** and are now coming back to set some things straight. Here Clinton follows in the footsteps of Sun Ra, who claimed to be an Afro-Egyptian God and a divine messenger from Saturn. The trope of abduction recalls a traumatic history: the original crime of enslavement, the terror of lynching, and the common acts of arrest and incarceration disproportionately carried out against the black community. Transforming that burden into the gift of prophesy, in 1952, Sun Ra began to tell the story of his abduction by benevolent aliens: **my whole body changed into something else**. I could see through myself. And I went up …I wasn’t in human form…I landed on a planet that I identified as Saturn…they teleported me and I was down on stage with them. They wanted to talk with me. They had one little antenna on each ear. A little antenna over each eye. They talked to me. They told me to stop [attending college] because there was going to be great trouble in schools…the world was going into complete chaos…I would speak [through music], and the world would listen. That’s what they told me. (qtd in Szwed 28–29) While Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) had championed the return of the exiled African diaspora to reclaim the continent from European powers (and prosper by their own enterprise), it was Sun Ra who **positioned black people as extraterrestrial aliens in exile**. George Clinton as Star Child continues in this vein, claiming that black people’s true home is in outer space. The opposite of alienation is connection; the Mothership Connection delivers the refugees from alienation and returns the children to the primordial connection of their mother’s embrace. In societies shaped by anti-black violence and continuing marginalization, it is easy to understand that Ra and Clinton could see themselves as alien and, like Garvey, recognize homelands distant from lived, perhaps irredeemable realities.20 In Clinton’s lyrics, it is not clear and perhaps does not matter whether black people from space or indigenous to Africa originally built the pyramids, but either way the claim challenges accounts that write black people’s achievements out of history.21 Apart from affirming that Africans built the pyramids, demonstrating technical and engineering prowess rarely credited to them, Clinton claims that arcane knowledge is hidden in the pyramids, truth to be revealed when humanity becomes funky enough to receive it. Funk upon a time In the days of the Funkapus The concept of specially designed Afronauts Capable of funkatizing galaxies Was first laid on man-child But was later repossessed And placed among the secrets of the pyramids Until a more positive attitude Towards this most sacred phenomenon Clone Funk Could be acquired. (Funkadelic, “Prelude”) Afronauts embody black travel as liberation and extend it to galactic scale. Within the trappings of Egyptian mysticism and mythic space fantasy there is an agenda to advance the position of black people in society. In Clinton’s words, ‘In Chocolate City, we imagined a black man in the White House. That would take thirty-four years to come true.22 For Mothership Connection, we went even further afield and imagined a black man in space’ (Clinton 140). Bowie’s aliens leap effortlessly between galaxies through the portals of black holes while Clinton militantly takes over the (predominantly white) air waves with his “pirate radio coming in from outer space” (Clinton 141), reclaims the pyramids from histories that deny black involvement in their construction, and puts black people in places they did not seem to belong such as the White House and outer space. A contrast emerges between the matterof-fact sense of white entitlement to space as expressed by Bowie versus space as yet another bastion of white power to be stormed by systemically excluded black people. Clearly, George Clinton’s campaign is not that of community organizing, armed resistance, or the ten-point plan of the Black Panther Party. Yet I would push against the temptation to discount George Clinton as a frivolous hedonist rather than someone with a significant social message merely because of the style in which the message is phrased. Liberate the minds of men and ultimately you will liberate the bodies of men.” (Garvey qtd in Hill 204) Free your mind and your ass will follow. (Funkadelic)

#### This form of captivity is manifested through the hold in the wake of slavery, a space where time does not pass, but accumulate. When the Afronauts traveled through space, they ultimately never left, forever lost in the temporal archive of the hold. This re-creates itself into material manifestations of captivity where black bodies are always forever in the vicinity of death.

**Sharpe 1** (Sharpe, Christina. In the wake: On blackness and being. Duke University Press, 2016. (Christina Sharpe is currently a professor at York University's department of humanities in the newly-created Black Canadian Studies certificate program)//Raunak Dua

Hold—a large space in the lower part of a ship or aircraft in which cargo is stowed. (of a ship or an aircraft); continue to follow (a particular course); keep or detain (someone); a fortress. —OED Online One cannot read the words of the second stanza of the first poem of Dionne Brand’s Thirsty (published in 2002, one year after A Map to the Door of No Return), encounter her declaration of doorways, and not think of those door(s) of no return all along the West Coast of Africa. With that first poem of Thirsty one cannot not think of the ways we, Black people in diaspora, **are held and held in** and by the “brittle gnawed life we live,” unprotected from the terrible except by eyelashes. Thirsty. Thirsty is the final word that the poet gives to Alan as he falls . . . dead. Readers recognize in Alan, Albert Johnson who was shot dead in August 1979, on Manchester Avenue in Toronto; Alan Johnson, dead from a policeman’s bullet. 1 Thirsty. Thirsty on the walk, in the hold, on the ship, on the shore and in the contemporary . . . Alan and Albert Johnson fall. We inhabit and are inhabited by the hold. In an interview with Édouard Glissant about his theories of relation, Manthia Diawara (2011, 4) begins by saying, “**A boat is a departure and an arrival**.” I take that duality, that doubling of departures and arrivals, as my setting-off point for this section on what happens in the hold. Charlotte Delbo’s memoir None of Us Will Return begins with “Arrivals, Departures.” Delbo reports on another kind of ship, another kind of hold, that of the cattle cars arriving at Auschwitz or Buchenwald. So she begins with the station, which is nowhere, and the door that leads to death. She writes, “But there is a station where those who arrive are those who are leaving/a station where those who arrive never have arrived, where those who have left never came back./It is the largest station in the world./This is the station” (Delbo 1995, 5). There have been earlier doors, earlier stations, earlier ports of arrival and departure; I do not include Delbo here to make an analogy between the Holocaust (Delbo was a member of the French Resistance) and slavery. Slavery’s brutal arithmetics are precursive to those of the Holocaust. I begin here because of the ways Delbo makes clear that those arrivants (my word, with a nod to Brathwaite) from all over Europe, who will never depart and do not know the language of the guards, must learn a new language through kicks, punches, rifle butts, and shots. A mother slaps a child; the guards yell, hit, and pull; language falls apart. It is in and with such falling, such ripping-apart, of language that Zong! begins. Language has deserted the tongue that is thirsty, it has deserted the tongues of those captives on board the slave ship Zong whose acquisition of new languages articulates the language of violence in the hold; the tongue struggles **to form the new language**; the consonants, vowels, and syllables spread across the page. The black letters float like those Africans thrown, jumped overboard, and lost in the archives and in the sea. “w w w w a wa/wa a wa t/er . . .” (Philip 2008, 3). The mouth tries to form the words of the other-tongue; except for the salty sea, water dis-appears in all of its manifestations: tears, urine, rainwater, and fresh drinking water. “One days water, water of want,” Philip writes. Language disintegrates. Thirst dissolves language. If we did not know, Delbo (1995, 11) tells us: “O you who know . . . did you know that hunger makes the eyes sparkle that thirst dims/them.” If we did not know, Morrison (1987, 210) tells us this in Beloved: “The men without skin bring us their morning water to drink we have none. . . . If we had more to drink we could make tears we cannot make sweat or morning water so the men without skin bring us theirs to drink.” Danticat (1996a, 12) tells us this in “Children of the Sea” through the words of a Haitian young man dreaming of his left-behind beloved as he faces knowledge of death: “I tried to talk to you, but every time I opened my mouth, water bubbles came out. No sounds”; Brand tells us this in Thirsty. Together these writers elaborate the hold and its long wake, **the residence time of the hold**, its longue durée. The first language the keepers of the hold use on the captives is the language of violence: the language of thirst and hunger and sore and heat, the language of the gun and the gun butt, the foot and the fist, the knife and the throwing overboard. And in the hold, mouths open, say, thirsty.

Teenagers arriving in the Italian port of Lampedusa told workers from Save the Children how migrants from sub-Saharan African countries were often kept below the deck, deprived of water and sunlight. (Dearden 2015a)

“The Libyans who got me to Italy are not human,” he said. “They speak with the gun not with words. . . . They pushed eight Nigerians into the sea.” . . . “And they pushed my friend into the sea. They all drowned.” (Dearden 2015a)

In July last year, around 100 migrants were massacred by traffickers after they **tried to escape a locked hold** as fumes spread from the boat’s engine. As the poisonous gas spread below deck, panic started and the passengers managed to force open the door, only to be met by traffickers armed with knives who started massacring them and throwing them into the sea. (Dearden 2015a)

“Five men stabbed and assaulted passengers at random and threw them overboard, telling others not to react or they would suffer the same fate, police said. Approximately 60 of the migrants were attacked and their bodies dumped, while around 50 are thought to have been thrown directly into the sea to drown” (Dearden 2015a).

“The captain and a crew member were among only 28 survivors rescued out of the estimated 950 people on board the 66 foot former fishing trawler.” (Dearden 2015b)

A teenage boy from Somalia says he wanted to be called Ali after his friend who was pushed into the sea alongside other passengers. (Dearden 2015a)

According to witness accounts gathered by police, the suspected traffickers—two Libyans, two Algerians and a Tunisian aged 21–24— threatened the migrants on board with knives and beat them with belts to control them. About 100 African migrants now presumed dead were allegedly held in the hull of the doomed boat, survivors told police. (Kirchgaessner 2015)

In the knowledges of people living in the wake these newspaper narratives **have a resonance**. We understand the compulsions of capital in our alwayspossible deaths. But those bodies nevertheless try to exceed those compulsions of capital. They, we, inhabit knowledge that the Black body is **the sign of immi/a/nent death.** These are accounts of the hold in the contemporary. In Calais (figure 3.1) the keepers of the hold respond with violence as refugees from Europe’s continued financialization of their unlivable lives and immiseration attempt to make it into England. Britain’s prime minister, David Cameron, refers to them as a “swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain because Britain has got jobs, it’s got a growing economy, it’s an incredible place to live.” 2 Cameron insists on and refuses “the hold.” In 2005, after uprisings in the wake of the death by electrocution of two young men who were being chased by the police, then–Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy referred to the young people in the streets as “scum” and “riffraff” and said that he would “Kärcher” (pressure wash) the banlieues. Cameron and Sarkozy **instrumentalize the orthography of the wake**. They instrumentalize the conventions of the brutal language of the hold. “Starting tomorrow, we are going to clean the Cité des 4000 with a Kärcher.” 3 In Germany, in Bayreuth, Berlin, and Hamburg, the lagers continue. 4 There, refugees are held in villages for years unable to leave without permission, unable to go to the city, unable to find employment or go to school, they are in the living death of the lager. “ ‘Being a black man or a “refugee” in Brandenburg is like being a Jew or a homosexual in the 1930’s in Germany,’ said Chu Eben, who fled Cameroon in 1998 and has been living in Germany ever since.” 5 “Since late 2012, the camp at Berlin’s Oranienplatz—a collection of around 30 large tents, adorned with slogans such as ‘We are here’ and ‘Kein mensch ist illegal’ (No one is illegal)—has been home to up to 200 refugees from different parts of the world.” 6 In New Orleans, Louisiana, the Black displaced of Hurricane Katrina held in deplorable conditions in the Superdome, continue to be in a holding pattern, unable to return, unable to “move on,” as the city remakes itself without them. In Greece, on the island of Kos, police “have beaten migrants with batons and sprayed them with fire extinguishers as hundreds were gathering at a football stadium to wait for immigration documents.” 7 On a popular French TV program the Senegalese writer Fatou Diome said, 3.1 France-Britain-Europe migrants. © Philippe Huguen/Getty Images These people whose bodies are washing up on these shores,—and I carefully choose my words—if they were Whites, the whole Earth should be shaking now. Instead, it’s Black and Arabs who are dying and their lives are cheaper. The European Union, with its navy and war fleet, can rescue the migrants in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Sea if they want to, but they sit and wait till the migrants die. It’s as if letting them drown is used as a deterrent to prevent migrants from coming to Europe. But let me tell you something: that doesn’t deter anyone . . . because the individual who is migrating as a survival instinct, who believes that the life they are living isn’t worth much, he’s not afraid of death. 8 The Zong repeats; it repeats and repeats **through the logics and the calculus of dehumaning** started long ago and still operative. The details and the deaths accumulate; the ditto ditto **fills the archives of a past that is not yet past.** The holds multiply. And so does resistance to them, the survivance of them: “the brittle gnawed life we live, /I am held, and held.” We understand this because we are “standing here in eyelashes.”

#### Anti-Blackness over-codes the creation of a planet worth defending. The spectacularizing of geological events that may incur extinction is an active disavowal of the infinite amounts of extinction experienced by captive bodies within the hold. Start your analysis of outer space policy through a register of the billion Black Anthropocene’s generated in the wake of Slavery

* Modified for Ableist Language

**Yusoff ‘18** (Yusoff, Kathryn. A billion black Anthropocenes or none. U of Minnesota Press, 2018. (Professor of Inhuman Geography at University of London at Queen Mary)//Raunak dua

While genocide (and ongoing settler colonialism) and slavery (and its afterlives) are by no means historically or culturally assimilate, as they have different critical discourses, not to mention territorial implications, that are put into contact through the legacy of White Geology and its geographical and subjective dispossession. This White Geology continues to propagate imaginaries that organize Blackness as a stratum or seismic barrier to the costs of extraction, across the coal face, the alluvial planes, and the sugarcane fields, and on the slave block, into the black communities that buffer the petrochemical industries and hurricanes to the indigenous reservations that soak up the waste of industrialization and the sociosexual effects of extraction cultures. If the Anthropocene proclaims a sudden concern with the exposures of environmental harm to white liberal communities, **it does so in the wake of histories in which these harms have been knowingly exported to black and brown communities** under the rubric of civilization, progress, modernization, and capitalism. The Anthropocene might seem to offer a dystopic future that laments the end of the world, but imperialism and ongoing (settler) colonialisms **have been ending worlds** for as long as they have been in existence. **The Anthropocene as a politically infused geology and scientific/popular discourse is just now noticing the extinction it has chosen to continually overlook in the making of its modernity and freedom.** In the context of this selective perspectivism, Black Anthropocenes marks an interjection or erasure that is a billion missing articulations of geologic events to provide a counterforce or gravity to the historical junctures from 1492 to 1950 (under consideration by the Anthropocene Working Group for the initiation event of the epoch). I want to challenge the racial ~~blindness~~ [neutrality] of the Anthropocene as a willful ~~blindness~~ [neutrality] that permeates its comfortable suppositions and its imaginaries **of the planetary**—imaginaries that constitute its geographies of concern and attribution. As an erasure that is both performed and obscured in the “point and erase” action of the naming of the Golden Spikes, Blackness is a material index of resistance to the projection of this Anthropocenic New World–Old World globalizing geography. Refusing the neat placing of Anthropocene geosocial “events” in geology and the reverberations of colonization that they represent, I offer an altered thinking in concert with a billion Black Anthropocenes **as a change of register.** A billion Black Anthropocenes names the all too many voidings of experiences that span multiple scales, manifestations, and ongoing extractive economies, in terms of the materiality and grammars that inculcate antiblackness through a material geophysics of race. In this book, the writers of the Caribbean are read as both counteraesthetic and counteranalytic to the carceral geo-logics of white settlers in colonialism and New World slavery. While the book sketches a limited engagement with the diverse histories of black and indigenous studies, it instead tries to stay with these geographies of the Caribbean and Americas as inchoate within the settler states of North America and Europe. In the spirit of Brand’s poetics of maroonage and Wynter’s concept of replantation, I have prioritized a patternation of thought and practice in the inscription of geology rather than a more exacting genealogy.[1] In the apprehension of geologic acts that underpin the Anthropocene-in-the-making, I recognize geology as a racial formation from the onset and, in its praxis, as an extractive and theoretical discipline.

#### A material reading of Space cooperation as out-there is predicated on a whitened notion of mobility The technological facets of progress that make up the Space Race were ultimately an attempt for the human to distance themselves from backward “ghetto” and “urban” areas. Instead of starting from outer-space, you should begin any discussion of space cooperation within the hold.

**Montegary et Al ‘16** (Liz, and Melissa Autumn White, eds. Mobile desires: The politics and erotics of mobility justice. Springer, 2016. (an assistant professor of women's, gender, and sexuality studies at Stony Brook University in New York)//Raunak Dua

But Watts is a country which lies, psychologically, uncounted miles further than most whites seem at present willing to travel. (Pynchon, 1966) From the days of chattel slavery until today, the concept of travel has been inseparably linked in the minds of our people with the concept of freedom. (Robeson, 1988, original emphasis) In the 1960 presidential election, candidate John F. Kennedy invoked moon exploration to displace the salience of religious division by focusing on unifying issues, including the spread of Communism that was ‘fester[ing] only 90 miles from the coast of Florida’ and crises in family farms, hunger, and unaffordable medical care that ‘know no religious barrier.’ The real problem was ‘an America with too many slums, with too few schools, and too late to the moon and outer space.’ This listing of ‘real issues which should decide this campaign’ suggested urgent, yet equally solvable, concerns. The space race ratified a national challenge, suggesting that returning the gaze from this ‘new frontier’ to domestic problems was the next step for technoscientific progress. When Dr Martin Luther King spoke of the moon in 1967, he was a world away from Kennedy’s Cold War hopefulness (Jordan, 2003). He delivered his final speech, ‘Where Do We Go From Here?: Chaos or Community?’, to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on the ten-year anniversary of the organization’s formation following the Montgomery bus boycott. Despite the gains of the civil rights move- ment, King concluded, ‘the Negro still lives in the basement of the Great Society.’ He went on to question the consonance between scientific and social progress that had seemed so central to Kennedy’s understanding of the nation: Today our exploration of space is engaging not only our enthusiasm but our patriotism.... No such fervor or exhilaration attends the war on poverty.... Without denying the value of scientific endeavor, there is a striking absurdity in committing billions to reach the moon where no people live, while only a fraction of that amount is appropriated to service the densely populated slums. If these strange views persist, in a few years we can be assured that when we set a man on the moon, with an adequate telescope he will be able to see the slums on earth with their intensified congestion, decay and turbulence. King concluded his remarks by asking: ‘On what scale of values is this a program of progress?’ (King, as cited in Gilroy, 1991 [1987], pp. 345–346). Spectacular Cold War images of space travel drew on and renovated a constellation of meanings associated with mobility that inform US national identity, including celebratory narratives of continental exploration, limitless possibility, and freedom. Kennedy did not see any conflict between mastering space travel and meeting domestic needs – each a concrete signification of American capitalist providence in the Cold War period. King’s speech marks both of these registers. His imagined telescopic view of the earth traverses an expansive scale of human possi- bility, but under Pax Americana, King finds that ‘common humanity’ is an ideological vision papering over the reality of grave economic and racial divisions. Even before a man (much less The Man) was on the moon, liberal and radical social critics alike were deploying a rhetorical device I call lunar criticism – ‘If we can put a man on the moon, we can do X, Y, or Z’ – to question US national priorities and narratives of progress. Liberal iterations of lunar criticism suggested that the gap between promise and practice could be bridged as part of fulfilling the national creed. Radical social critics argued that what appeared to be an incidental gap was in fact a racialized conflict. Reaching the moon began to look less like a virtuous American project than a white American project that furthered Black economic exploitation and abandonment. The space race as a spectacle of freedom and (white) upward mobility must be held in tension with the deepening ‘urban crisis’ (Beauregard, 2003). As both a powerful discourse and material geography, the urban crisis was constituted through Cold War investments in suburban housing, freeways, and defense industry construction, relative disinvestment in central cities, and through militarized, counter-insurgency responses to the urban unrest of the 1960s (Loyd, 2014). Yet, the interrelations between these spaces have been obscured through enduring spectacular productions of capitalist suburban hyper-mobility and ‘ghetto’ immobilization and backwardness (Siddiqi, 2010). As novelist Thomas Pynchon dissected, ‘Watts’ was another country to white Americans, represent- ing a psychological distance that white Americans were disinclined to travel. This chapter situates radical iterations of lunar criticism within the context of urban crisis and on the cusp of what Jodi Melamed, following Howard Winant, calls the post-World War II ‘racial break’ after which ‘state-recognized US antiracisms replaced white supremacy as the chief ideological mode for making the inequalities that global capitalism generated appear necessary, natural, or fair’ (Melamed, 2011, p. xvi). By contrast, race-radical antiracisms ‘have made visible the continued racialized historical development of capitalism and have persistently foregrounded antiracist visions incompatible with liberal political solutions to destructively uneven global social-material relations’ (p. xvii). In the spectacular treatment of urban uprisings, the space called the ‘ghetto’ ideologically and tactically cohered the problems of urban crisis, which were actually metropolitan (urban-suburban) in form and imperial in process. To develop this argument, I analyze the work of Gil Scott-Heron whose poetry, songs, and writing exemplify the race-radical tradition. His poem ‘Whitey on the Moon’ delivers a radical antiracist critique of the US space program that ties otherworldly investments to ongoing histories of Black forced im/mobility and immiseration. To that end, this essay responds to the call within the new mobilities scholar- ship to examine the ‘role of past mobilities in the present constitution of modern notions of security, identity and citizenship’ (Cresswell, 2012, p. 646). I begin by situating mobilities within post-war militarized spectacle and racial politics. I then move to an analysis of how race-radical lunar criticism grappled with the dialectics of urban crisis, which included the simultaneous deployment of rhetorics of mobility and new means of social control and state power. I conclude by exploring how Scott-Heron’s race-radical vision offers insights into contemporary mobilizations for mobility justice. Cold War spectacles of (upward) mobility What sort of national spectacle was the moon when King spoke? Spectacle tends to be understood as an ideological mask or distortion of reality, but Shiloh Krupar usefully conceptualizes spectacle as ‘a tactical ontology – meaning a truth-telling, world-making strategy’ (2013, p. 10). Indeed, in Blank Spots on the Map (2009), Trevor Paglen shows how NASA was the visible institutional face of an expansive and largely secret Cold War military geography. Krupar and Paglen show how US militarization has developed through institutional apparatuses and personnel that create a world of plausible appearances. Visuality and material landscapes are interconnected such that hypervisibility (that is, the space race) is a technological apparatus simultaneously creating unseen spaces of waste and sacrifice. Thus, spectacle is a tool of reification and division that works by disconnecting spaces and categories – delineating human from nature, valued from abjected – that are actually produced together. Caren Kaplan’s work on the visual logic of modern war-making connects such spectacles to the mobility of states and imperial citizens. Air power is an iteration of the cosmic view, a ‘unifying gaze of an omniscient viewer of the globe from a distance’ (Kaplan, 2006, p. 401). Kaplan ties this viewpoint – which claims universality, neutrality, and freedom ‘from bounded embeddedness on earth’ – to Euro-American colonization (Kaplan, 2006, p. 402; also see Cosgrove, 1994). Modern military ‘air power is seamlessly linked to the cosmic view through its requirements for a unified, universal map of the globe that places the home nation at the center on the ground and proposes an extension of this home to the space above it, limitlessly’ (Kaplan, 2006, p. 402). The upshot, according to Kaplan, is that the mobility of air power simultaneously produces an imagination of fixed sovereign territories. Indeed, for Kaplan, modern war is paradoxical in that it ‘requires the movements of large armies and instigates the mass displacement of refugees, yet it also polices borders and limits freedom of movement’ (p. 396). I take these theories of spectacle to suggest that the Cold War space race produced a modern, white, upwardly mobile subject that obscured the simultaneous co-production of an immobilized, unfree population confined to a knowable, tactical domestic space. That is, the militarization of the ‘cosmic view’ facilitates not only abstract targets of foreign war, but also targets of domestic state and state-sanctioned violence and confinement. The militarized logic of the ‘home front’ both coercively compels a patriotic citizen subject and obscures the racial, gender, class, and other social divides within the nation that belie the state’s claim to national unity **(Lutz 2002; Young 2003; Loyd 2011).** As the United States faced vulnerability to charges of racism during the Cold War, a cultural project of racial liberalism enabling mobility of the US empire would simultaneously entail efforts to confine Black mobility and dissident thought. For example, Rachel Buff (2008) shows how the US government deployed the terror of deportation as a means of disrupting political organizing. In the immediate post-World War II era, both W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson were barred from foreign travel for their views on peace, nuclear abolition, and decolonization (Kinchy, 2009; Robeson, 1988). The experience, no doubt, contributed to the observation that the Robeson epigraph makes on the race-radical desire for free mobility. Race-radical lunar criticism The United States would not make its lunar touch down until 1969 (after Kennedy’s and King’s assassinations), but King found a moon landing a more plausible future than a Second Reconstruction. And it was more plausible. By the time of his speech, long, hot summers of urban uprisings punctured the image of freedom and opportunity that the United States projected around the world. Moreover, the War on Poverty, while less than three years old, was virtually dead letter. The 1966 midterm elections ushered in legislators who claimed a mandate to terminate the War on Poverty and urban social investments. The ‘great rat debate’ of 1967 captured the level of political polarization as Congress quibbled over a miserly sum of ‘no more than $16.5 million to combat rodent infestations in ghetto neighborhoods.’ A year later, the Los Angeles Times observed, ‘[r]ats are still coexisting with the poor as comfortably as ever’ (Abramson, 1968). It is within this context that Gil Scott-Heron’s ‘Whitey on the Moon’ makes landing in 1970 on his first album, Small Talk at 125th and Lennox. The poem’s narrative arc is wryly humorous and brief, delivered in less than two minutes, with a simple drum accompaniment common in street poetry. Scott-Heron tells the story of sister Nell, who has been attacked by a rat even as Neil Armstrong lands on the moon: A rat done bit my sister Nell with Whitey on the moon. Her face and arms began to swell and Whitey’s on the moon. I can’t pay no doctor bills, but Whitey’s on the moon. Ten years from now I’ll be payin’ still while Whitey’s on the moon. Debts for Nell’s medical treatment, which would not have been incurred were there basic tenant rights and public health investments, will extend into the foreseeable future as costs for rent, food, and taxes will continue to rise to pay for the voyage. The final line of the song offers a sardonic resolution to the outlandish situation. When the next doctor bills arrive, he will forward them ‘air mail special to Whitey on the moon.’ Marvin Gaye’s 1971 song ‘Inner City Blues (Make Me Wanna Holler)’ likewise links high taxes and inflation to an imperial project that results in the devastation of Black lives: ‘Markets, moon shots, spend it on the have-nots/Money, we make it, ‘fore we see it, you take it.’ Scott-Heron and Gaye flip racist narratives of the welfare queen as responsible for poverty, naming instead state neglect and the theft of Black wealth. Their songs reclaim the value being appropriated to a desirable national project that denies it rests on Black expropriation and death. In this reading, the moon counters temporalities and spatialities of racial liberalism that rendered white supremacy as historical and anachronistic by insisting that American white supremacy is part of the modern geopolitical order. Visual artist Faith Ringgold also depicted this reality in her 1969 paint- ing of an American flag entitled ‘Flag for the Moon: Die Nigger.’ The word ‘die’ reads across the block of stars in the flag’s upper left corner. The stripes of the flag are formed by elongated black letters aligned from the bottom to the top edge of the flag, spelling out the word ‘nigger’ between the customary 13 red stripes. The painting’s message is three-fold: the use of black paint in place of white draws attention to the negative space between the lines to illustrate the tense interrelation between the invis- ibility of white supremacy and Black people to the history of the United States. Ringgold indicts the act of placing the flag on the moon as sending a spectacular message underscoring the abandonment of Black needs. Yet, the painting’s reference to H. Rap Brown’s Die, Nigger, Die! suggests the immediate tension between structural racism and the possibility for liberatory Black politics and identity (Patton, 1998, p. 198). ‘Whitey on the Moon’ is often cited as an expression of afrofuturism, which Mark Dery defines as a genre of Black social thought concern- ing ‘culture, technology, and things to come’ (Dery, as cited in Nelson, 2002, p. 9). For Kodwo Eshun, afrofuturism provides a ‘resource for speculation’ that traces the ‘potentiality of space and distance within the high-pressure zone of perpetual racial hostility’ (Eshun, 2003, p. 299). He explains that afrofuturism ‘uses extraterrestriality as a hyper- bolic trope to explore the historical terms, the everyday implications of forcibly imposed dislocation, and the constitution of Black Atlantic subjectivities: from slave to negro to coloured...to black to African to African American’ (pp. 298–299). In an afrofuturist reading, radical lunar criticism uses the vast physi- cal distance of the earth to the moon to imagine alternative futures to the gaping racial divides in earthly living conditions and well-being. As Stevphen Shukaitis suggests, ‘the imaginal machine based around space imagery is made possible by its literal impossibility. In the sense that this possibility cannot be contained or limited, it becomes an assemblage for the grounding of a political reality that is not contained but opens up to other possible futures that are not foreclosed through their pre-given definition’ (2009, p.107). Given the coloniality of the cosmic view and the simultaneous construction of Black ‘placelessness and constraint’ (McKittrick, 2011, p. 948), I suggest that Scott-Heron’s lunar criticism is not so much concerned with the otherworldly as a space for imagining the earthly impossible, but for assembling earthly sites of decolonization and liberation. Scott-Heron’s race-radical critique explores what Katherine McKittrick calls ‘spaces of encounter that hold in them useful anticolonial practices and narratives’ **(2011, p. 950). He offers a theory of militarized spectacle in which juxtaposition, or division, falls way to connection, to shared production. He shows how a landscape of rat-infested housing produces the man on the moon – through taxes and a vanishing horizon of medical debt – and names the spectacle obscuring this process ‘Whitey.’ In contrast to liberal iterations of lunar criticism, which suggested that solving poverty was possible within the terms of American capitalism, Scott-Heron linked American capitalism to the production of poverty, militarism, environmental devastation, and human abandonment.** These themes found in ‘Whitey on the Moon’ are consistent across his work, and include persistent criticism of spectacular popular culture and consumerism, war and state violence **(‘No Knock,’ ‘King Alfred’s Plan,’ ‘Did You Hear What They Said?,’ ‘H20 Gate Blues,’ ‘B Movie’),** concern for children’s well being **(‘Speed Kills,’ ‘Who Will Save the Children?’),** the threat of nuclear destruction and climate change **(‘We Almost Lost Detroit,’ ‘South Carolina (Barnwell),’ ‘Spacesong’**), drugs and habituation to other people’s suffering **(‘Billy Green Is Dead,’ ‘Angel Dust,’ ‘Home is Where the Hatred Is’),** and structural unemployment **(‘Who Will Pay Reparations on My Soul?’).** Scott-Heron’s poems link histories of forced mobility to the development of blues consciousness and revolution, exemplifying what Clyde Woods (2000) calls a ‘blues epistemology.’ **Indeed, Scott-Heron described himself as a ‘bluesologist’ (Ward, 2011), pursuing the science of the blues, offering a diagnostic that the ‘I ain’t got no money blues, I ain’t got no job blues, I ain’t got no woman blues’ are the same things (Mugge, 1982). For Woods, the blues ‘has been used repeatedly by multiple genera- tions of working-class African Americans to organize communities of consciousness....It was used to confront the daily efforts of plantation powers to erase African American leadership and the memory of social progress. ... The blues and its extensions are actively engaged in providing intellectually brutal confrontations with the “truths” of working-class African American life. It draws on African American musical practices, folklore, and spirituality to re-organize and give a new voice to working- class communities facing severe fragmentation’ (2005, p. 1008). The economic and racial forces of displacement and fragmentation were not distant from Scott-Heron. He was born in Chicago and spent much of his childhood living with his grandmother in the small town of Jackson, Tennessee. He saw the African American section of Jackson demolished to build the new highway between Memphis and Nashville before moving at the age of 13 with his mother to New York City (Scott- Heron, 2012). They first lived with his uncle in the Bronx and later in the Robert Fulton Houses in Chelsea. From there, he rode the subway for over an hour to Fieldston, a private high school in the Bronx. After his first year of college at Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania, which he chose to attend because Black writers and leaders such as Langston Hughes, Kwame Nkrumah, and Thurgood Marshall studied there, he took a leave of absence to complete his first novel, The Vulture. The book was published in 1970, the same year as his first album (and book of poetry), Small Talk at 125th and Lennox, which also debuted the well-known poem ‘The Revolution Will Not Be Televised.’ Scott-Heron’s blues offered an anticolonial vision of race-radical revo- lutionary consciousness, evident on the album From South Africa to South Carolina (1975), which ties together nuclear colonialism in South Carolina with apartheid in South Africa. Claudrena Harold (2011) observes that, ‘Scott-Heron’s descriptions of “down home” routinely moved beyond the geographical borders of the former Confederacy and into the transna- tional terrain commonly referred to as the Global South.’ ‘Delta Man,’ for example, traces the development of revolutionary consciousness along the sites of the plantation and Great Migration, from the Mississippi Delta during slavery, to Nebraska following the Civil War, and then to the inner city. The bridge between each of these places – ‘revolution outta be where I’m comin’ from’ – shuttles possibility between sites of forced mobility. The history lessons found in ‘Spacesong’ and ‘Who’ll Pay Reparations on My Soul?’, moreover, speak of white settler dispossession of Native inhabitants. Such an expansive internationalist, decolonial desire tempers the feeling of despair otherwise dominant in ‘Winter in America.’ The song was written in 1975 at a moment when the possibility of the Black freedom and peace movements had been betrayed, leaving ‘nobody fight- ing ‘cause nobody knows what to save.’ Within an internationalist blues epistemology, however, the hopeful suggestion is that spring can still be found in movements outside of the United States (Peddie, 2011, 122). Mobilizing urban crisis The militarization of the urban crisis was accompanied by an ideological project to enclose the racialized ‘Black ghetto’ as a place separate from modern white suburbia, reifying it as a space of dangerousness that may be subject legitimately to exceptional rules and abandoned. The great rat debate contributed to this ideological crystallization. Southern Democrats and Republican opponents of the bill used innuendo (‘rats of the two-legged variety’ and ‘rats of the four-legged variety’) to tie the bill to race and rioting in Newark (Strickland, 1969, p. 342). Another congressman mockingly referred to it as the ‘civil “rats” bill’ (McLaughlin, 2011, p. 542).** ‘Whitey on the Moon,’ by turn, revealed the truth that state abandonment is not just an afterthought, but a productive absence directly abetted by state violence. **In drawing together the exploration of the moon with the extraction of value from and suppression of Black freedom movements, race-radical lunar criticism rejected the bifurcated militarized spectacle of limitless space and anachronistic ghetto confinement. Indeed, Scott-Heron offers a documentary trace of the new ‘great confinement’ that was then in the making (de Giorgi, 2006). In ‘No Knock,’ Scott-Heron invites listeners to take an incredulous interpretation of new legislation that enabled the police to enter a dwelling without notice: Long rap about “No Knock” being legislated for the people you’ve always hated in this hell hole that you/we call home. “No Knock,” the Man will say to keep this man from beating his wife. “No Knock,” the Man will say to protect people from themselves. His poem ‘King Alfred’s Plan’ discusses a Nixon plan for preventive detention that would create a caged future in the absence of Black political unity. ‘Locked in cages, pens, hemmed in shoulder to shoulder arms outstretched for just a crust of bread...Let us unite out of love and not hate / Let us unite on our own and not because of barbed wire death.’ As race-radical lunar criticism illustrates, the material and ideological struggle over urban crisis constituted a space for grappling with intersecting structures of white racial rule and empire, namely whether and how they could be democratically reconstructed. This offers a cultural trace of the shift from military Keynesianism to post-Keynesian militarism that Ruth Wilson Gilmore (1998) names as the conjuncture for the sharp expansion of the carceral state. In contrast to the ‘symbiotic’ progression from ‘ghetto’ to prison confinement offered by Wacquant (2001), race-radical lunar criticism illustrates both the tremendous contests over shifting forms of unfreedom and their situatedness within a broader crisis of imperialism that anticolonial and ‘domestic’ freedom struggles provoked. The uneven geography that the warfare-welfare state produced was the grounds of struggle over the costs and harms of militarization. Investments in defense were widespread but concentrated in New South and New West sites in the so-called Sunbelt, what Markusen and colleagues (1991) dubbed the Gunbelt. This unevenness was not only regional, but also shaped patterns of development at the metropolitan scale (Loyd, 2014). This social and spatial struggle was deeply racialized and gendered. For this reason, it is misleading to interpret the space race as a form of militarization that uniformly trumps basic needs, as liberal versions of spending priorities suggest.** Conflicts over who would pay for the costs of empire and militarization were mediated through strug- gles over racism that took a spectacular form, splitting inner city from suburb in ways that obscured the intersections among race, class, and gender. The Black welfare mother was enlisted as the spectacular figure of national disorder, even though most welfare recipients were white and most Great Society spending supported middle class suburban homes. **Scott-Heron’s retort to this scapegoating restored the racial economic context within which Black families and communities struggled for freedom. Cross-class welfare rights and peace movements questioned military Keynesianism, meaning that they increasingly rejected the wages of empire and believed that a democratic reconstruction of US society was possible only by ending its wars. Conclusion: race-radical lunar criticism for the prison home front** As a sublime symbol of progress, exploration, and national purpose, the moon represented a material symbol of upward mobility and possibility for the nation. The Cold War space race as spectacle cohered an ideological understanding of upward mobility and progress. This spectacle, moreover, was not simply a mode of visuality, but also built material spaces of the economically buoyant Sunbelt-Gunbelt and fostered confinement of Black central city spaces and dislocation of residents from industries being developed elsewhere. **Urban crisis, then, was fundamentally a crisis over Black ‘upward’ mobility in terms of movement through space (that is, the Great Migration and moving beyond confines of racial ghettos) and claims to political power and presence in public spaces. Race-radical lunar criticism defied the Cold War spectacle that would split the world in two, the nation into Black and white, American or failed American, by illustrating the relationships between the ghetto and suburb, the ghetto and empire. Critical interpretations of the relationship between racialized poverty and wealth, as offered through Black lunar criticism, did not disappear, but were submerged within a discourse that naturalized Black confinement in ghetto and prison spaces while obscuring the consolidation of political and economic forces responsible for a new, multiscalar regime of mobility and immobility. The political and cultural contest over this lived and ideological space of urban crisis underscores the uncertain future of the prison resolution.** With mass incarceration in question from the left and right, race-radical lunar criticism offers some guidance for understanding how the present crisis may be resolved in favor of mobility justice. **Scott-Heron’s song ‘Alien (Hold Onto Your Dreams)’ criticizes divide and conquer tactics, and ties the trajectories of transnational Latino/a migrants to African American histories of forced mobility.** Moreover, Scott-Heron’s dialectical blues understanding of the politics of space **suggests that dismantling the United States’ unprecedented carceral state will hinge not so much on comparing rates of spending on confinement versus welfare but on analyzing their interconnection and on developing political unity and (even) love.** The peaceful promise of outer space – displacing the Man from the moon – remains tied to liberatory, decolonial projects on earth.

#### The demand for outer space private appropriation is based on a liberal humanist world-making fantasy based on a site of a shared commons. The attempt to control the commons is premised on a human/non-human divide stemming from the initial containerization of bodies through the Middle Passage that results in a racial cosmobiopolitical capitalism. Private space policy creates new techniques of control to facilitate it.

**Damjanov ‘15** (Damjanov, Katarina. "The matter of media in outer space: Technologies of cosmobiopolitics." Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 33.5 (2015): 889-906. (Dr, PhD Melb. Lecturer, Faculty of Arts, Business, Law and Education, School of Social Sciences)//Elmer

In one of his lectures at the Collége de France, Foucault (2008: 51–73) provided a brief account of how the history of international law echoed the emergence of modern approaches to governance, where the primary emphasis upon territory becomes augmented with the objective to secure the vitality of the shared market. He described how the Treaty of Westphalia’s reinforcement of borders around sovereign states in 1598, which strengthened their inner autonomy yet limited their external reach, instituted each of them as a part of a collective of states gathered around the common interest of progress. This territorial reform aimed to end devastating wars between the states and ensure their political and economic stability, but it imposed the need for new domains of competition in which each of them could independently acquire and prosper, and all them could together be in a ‘state of permanent collective enrichment’ (Foucault, 2008: 55). These spaces, Foucault suggested, were inaugurated with the ‘Freedom of the Seas’ in 1609, which opened the ocean as a space which all states could use to advance through economic competition rather than rivalry over territory. While specifically related to the agenda of European colonial expansions, the establishment of the seas as shared commons was indicative of the awareness that the unlimited accumulation of wealth requires the infinitely free space of the global market. Freedom of the seas was, as Foucault (2008: 56) described, born out of this ‘new form of global rationality... a new calculation on the scale of the world’ and it marked the start of economic globalisation. The interplay between the finite room of territories and infinite possibilities for circulation and accumulation of capital was sustained indefinitely by asserting the global freedom, the commonality of the seas. Through the commons of the seas, capitalism assumed its global latitudes; while the historical enclosure of wastelands that were shared as ‘commons’ enabled the initial, ‘primitive’ accumulation of capital, the creation of the ocean’s commons enabled capitalism to articulate its processes at a global scale. This legal manoeuvre to defend territory by rethinking the spaces of the market institutes the idea of shared commonality as an Archimedean point for the governance of human societies, preparing the terrain for a biopolitical system of governance based upon its abstraction into a method of subsuming ‘life itself’ to the massifying logic of averages and estimates. The institution of the OST and its associated Agreements and Conventions2 from the mid-twentieth century was an outcome of yet another spatial crisis; it was an attempt to negotiate the many tensions that the arrival of the Space Age stirred within global affairs. It was at the time of Cold War and states’ political polarisation, in a world where rapid industrialisation and massive population increases were coupled with anxieties about limits to economic growth, that outer space was identified as a potential site of military conflicts, competing claims of sovereignty and a rapacious race for resources. The looming possibility of still deeper crisis necessitated another repositioning of states and markets around their vital assets, and a restoring of the global equilibrium of powers. Here the OST drew upon the juridical principle of a ‘common heritage’ of humankind – a concept previously employed in the Antarctic Treaty in 1959 for comparable arrangements of international regimes of governance – and took the idea of the commons outside the globe. The treaty expanded the conceptual borders of ‘the scale of the world’ into extraterrestrial space, prescribing that its exploration ‘shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries’ and that it ‘shall be the province of all mankind’ (OST, article 1). Once again, international law established a space of commons whose exploration and exploitation would proceed as a joint enterprise through which all states could freely advance and prosper both individually and as a part of collective. Just as the ‘Freedom of the Seas’ opened routes for ships sailing in the name of nations, the OST unlocked flightpaths for spaceships and other technologies, stimulating states’ techno-scientific interests and competition and ensuring that the emerging mode of ‘high-tech’ capitalism had from its beginnings an extra-planetary, infinite prospect. This trans-national legal netting codified an idea of global commonality and framed the inhuman regions of outer space as the ‘province of all mankind’, drawing them into its global system of governance. The OST thus provided the juridical platform from which to articulate a cosmobiopolitical order; it offered a governmental framework for enacting a vision of the human race as a species-power, which will, through the techno-mediated exploration of space, direct its own cosmic progress. Almost a half century after the OST, media technologies remain crucial to the transformation of outer space into a human province. The voracious neoliberal drive of the state-industry nexus that conditions global biopolitics is so dependent upon them, that they become a target of the same systems of governance they catalyse. Their construction, launches and distribution are the subject of careful calculation, meticulous planning and complex logistics, their condition and movements are continuously being monitored, assessed and managed, and this transfer of governmental rationalities from living humans to inanimate objects changes the biopolitical approach to human species-being. If biopower emerged as concerned with bodies of human individuals and populations, and pressing environmental concerns about the ‘global body of the Earth’ augmented its application ‘from human to planetary bodies’ (Bryld and Lykee, 2000: 92–94), then space-based media technologies mark a subsequent phase in the development of its architecture. They trigger the transposition of life management onto the bodies and populations of media technologies and it is this shift which inaugurates the object-centred coordinates of the cosmobiopolitical: the governance of the human without actual humans. The legal basis of cosmobiopolitics, the OST respectively preserves the status of outer space as a globally shared domain and permits its occupation by technical media that are the legal province of particular terrestrial entities, thus accommodating the contradictory tenets of their governance. However, these governmental rationalities are defined by codes of law and ‘the law’ as Foucault (2007: 47) notes ‘works at the level of the imaginary’, and it can only imagine things which can and cannot be done; like the 0s and 1s of digital code, it only prescribes a state of presence or absence of things. It is the very presence of media technologies in outer space (and the absence of humans) which contradictorily makes possible and disturbs the cosmobiopolitical imaginary. Their remote position situates them beyond the reach of juridical rule and the policing-power of states, literally placing them outside of the ‘global grid’ of governance. While they are used as apparatus through which to enable human terrestrial enterprises, these objects themselves carry the essence of terra and of the absent presence of the human beyond the globe. The media technologies in outer space do not only reduce the incompatibility between the human and the extraterrestrial, but also introduce frictions within their exchanges. This disturbance suggests that their material realities disrupt the imaginaries implied by law and instead assert their own force, reinforcing these objects somewhat absurdly as the non-governable markers of extraterritoriality in the commons, as the non-human emissaries of humanity, and as a non-living population of objects which are managed as if they were alive. In outer space, the matter of media itself becomes code through which to define what can be propertied and what remains commons, what can be governed and what poses itself as ungovernable, where the human ends and the non-human begins, where the boundaries that distinguish governance of the living from the non-living lie and when biopolitics transmutes into a cosmobiopolitics.

Thus, The appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust by the hold.

#### Centering the hold within Debate is a performance of Wake Work, the process of thinking about our relation to the dead that allows a process of mourning through ritual and provides a praxis for understanding the hold, how it repeats itself into the present, and for fostering resistance in the space. This is a radical re-imagination of the world that works to navigate black captivity. Instead of continuing the resolution’s liberal humanist dream, you should stay within the hold that breaks the racial grammar of the space-ship which is yet another elaboration of the slave ship.

**Sharpe ‘2** (Sharpe, Christina. In the wake: On blackness and being. Duke University Press, 2016. (Christina Sharpe is currently a professor at York University's department of humanities in the newly-created Black Canadian Studies certificate program)//Elmer

What, then, are the ongoing **coordinates and effects of the wake**, and what does it mean to inhabit that Fanonian "zone of non-Being" within and after slavery's denial of Black humanity? 29 Inhabiting here is the state of being inhabited/occupied and also being or dwelling in. In activating the multiple registers of "wake " I have turned to images, poetry, and literature that take up the wake as a way toward understanding how slavery's continued unfolding is constitutive of the contemporary conditions of **spatial, legal, psychic, and material dimensions of Black non/ being** as well as Black aesthetic and other modes of deformation and interruption. That set of work by Black artists, poets, writers, and thinkers is positioned against a set of quotidian catastrophic events and their reporting that together comprise what I am calling the orthography of the wake. The latter is a dysgraphia of disaster, and these disasters arrive by way of the rapid, deliberate, repetitive, and wide circulation on television and social media of Black social, material, and psychic death. This orthography makes domination in/visible and not/visceral. This orthography is an instance of what I am calling the Weather; it registers and produces the conventions of antiblackness in the present and into the future. A reprise and an elaboration: Wakes are processes; **through them we think about the dead and about our relations to them**; they are rituals through which to enact grief and memory. Wakes allow those **among the living to mourn the passing of the dead through ritual;** they are the watching of relatives and friends beside the body of the deceased from death to burial and the accompanying drinking, feasting, and other observances, a watching practiced as a religious observance. But wakes are also "the track left on the water's surface by a ship (figure 1.4); the disturbance caused by a body swimming, or one that is moved, in water; the air currents behind a body in flight; a region of disturbed flow; in the line of sight of (an observed object); and (something) in the line of recoil of (a gun)" ; finally, wake means being awake and, also, consciousness. In the wake, the semiotics of the slave ship continue: from the forced movements of the enslaved to the forced movements of the migrant and the refugee, to the regulation of Black people in North American streets and neighborhoods, to those ongoing crossings of and drownings in the Mediterranean Sea, to the brutal colonial reimaginings of the slave ship and the ark; to the reappearances of the slave ship in everyday life in the form of the prison, the camp, and the school. As we go about wake work, we must think through containment, regulation, punishment, capture, and captivity and the ways the manifold representations of blackness become the symbol, par excellence, for the less-than human being condemned to death. We must think about Black flesh, Black optics, and ways of producing enfleshed work; think the ways the hold cannot and does not hold even as the hold remains in the form of the semiotics of the slave ship hold, the prison, the womb, and elsewhere in and as the tension between being and instrumentality that is **Black being in the wake** At stake is not recognizing antiblackness as total climate. At stake, too, is not recognizing an insistent Black visualsonic resistance to that imposition of non/being. How might we stay in the wake with and as those whom the state positions to die ungrievable deaths and live lives meant to be unlivable? These are questions of temporality, the langue durée, the residence and hold time of the wake At stake, then is to stay in this wake time toward in-habiting a blackened consciousness **that would rupture the structural silences** produced and facilitated by, and that produce and facilitate, Black social and physical death. For, if we are lucky, we live in the knowledge that the wake has positioned us as no-citizen.30 If we are lucky, the knowledge of this positioning avails us particular ways of re/seeing, re/inhabiting, and re/ imagining the world. And we might use these ways of being in the wake in our responses to terror and the varied and various ways that our Black lives are lived under occupation. **I want In the Wake to declare that we are Black peoples in the wake with no state or nation to protect us**, with no citizenship bound to be respected, and to position us in the modalities of Black life lived in, as, under, despite Black death: to think and be and act from there. It is my particular hope that the praxis of the wake and wake work, the theory and performance of the wake and wake work, as modes of attending to Black life and Black suffering, are imagined and performed here with enough specificity to attend to the direness of the multiple and overlapping presents that we face; it is also my hope that the praxis of the wake and wake work might have enough capaciousness to travel and do work that I have not here been able to imagine or anticipate.

#### The wake and the hold are not static instances of slavery but rather a living and breathing system. Instead of bringing the dead to the living by theorizing about space policy in terms of the material, you should submit the living to the dead by embracing the inter-generational power of the archive found within the wake.

**Sharpe ‘3** (Sharpe, Christina. In the wake: On blackness and being. Duke University Press, 2016. (Christina Sharpe is currently a professor at York University's department of humanities in the newly-created Black Canadian Studies certificate program)//Elmer

I include the personal here to connect the social forces on a specific, particular family’s being **in the wake to those of all Black people in the wake;** to mourn and to illustrate the ways our individual lives are always swept up in the wake produced and determined, though not absolutely, by the afterlives of slavery. Put another way, I include the personal here in order to position this work, and myself, in and of the wake. The “autobiographical example,” says Saidiya Hartman, “is not a personal story that folds onto itself; it’s not about navel gazing, it’s really about trying to look at historical and social process and one’s own formation as a window onto social and historical processes, as an example of them” (Saunders 2008b, 7). Like Hartman I include the personal here, “**to tell a story capable of engaging and countering the violence of abstraction”** (Hartman 2008, 7). Late January 2014. I was preparing to go to Germany to give a talk the first week of February when my niece Dianna, the daughter of my eldest brother Van Buren, called to tell me that Stephen, my second oldest brother, was ill and that she and Karen, my sister-in-law, had called an ambulance to take him to the hospital (figure 1.2). She said he didn’t want to go but that he was having difficulty breathing. I knew that Stephen hadn’t been well. At IdaMarie’s funeral he seemed and looked aged and in pain. I made myself believe that what I was seeing on his face and body were “just” (as if this could be “just” in any meaning of the word) the long-term effects of sickle cell, his deep depression over IdaMarie’s death, and the grinding down of poverty—the poverty of the worktoo-hard-and-still-can’t-make-ends-meet kind. Then I simultaneously thought, but didn’t want to think, that he was really ill. Now, panicked, I asked Dianna if I should come. When she said no, I told her that I was headed to Germany in a few days and that I would cancel that trip in order to be there; I told her I wanted to see Stephen, wanted to be with him. The next day I talked to Stephen, and with his assurances I made the trip to Bremen, Germany, where I was to give a talk at the University of Bremen, titled “In the Wake.” This was the third iteration of the work that has become this book. In our conversation Stephen told me that he was weak and worried and that the doctors weren’t sure what was wrong with him. There were many tests and multiple and conflicting diagnoses. In the days after I returned from Bremen the doctors finally gave Stephen a diagnosis of malignant mesothelioma. They told him that he likely had between six and nine months to live. We were devastated. None of us were sure how he got this rare cancer that is usually caused by exposure to asbestos. We learned from the doctors that the dormancy period for mesotheliomas is long, from ten to fifty years. If this mesothelioma was from what and from where we thought, we were struck that the damage from one summer’s work forty-five years earlier at a local insulation company in Wayne, Pennsylvania, when he was fourteen years old could suddenly appear, now, to fracture the present. In the wake, the past that is not past reappears, **always, to rupture the present**. The Past—or, more accurately, pastness—is a position. Thus, **in no way can we identify the past as past**. (Trouillot 1997, 15) In one of the moments that Stephen was alone in his hospital room, before he was moved to a rehabilitation center, then back to the intensive care unit at the hospital, and finally to hospice care, he called me and asked me to do him a favor. He said he knew he could count on me. He asked me to not let him suffer; to make sure that he was medicated enough that he wouldn’t suffer. I told him yes, I would do that. We knew that for each of us the unspoken end of that sentence was “the way our mother did” as she was dying of cancer (figure 1.3). Several nights later Dianna called and told me to come quickly. We rented a car and drove from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Norristown, Pennsylvania. But my brother was no longer able to speak by the time we got to the hospital, in a repetition of 1998, when I made it to my mother’s side from Geneva, New York, where I was teaching in my first job as I completed my PhD dissertation. But I was there. He registered my presence. (I am the youngest child. We were always there for each other.) I could speak with him. I could hold his hand, and stroke his face, and play Stevie Wonder and Bob Marley. I could tell him how much I loved him, how much he would live on in my life, and in the lives of everyone he had touched. February 21, 2014. My sister Annette and her husband James had just left Stephen’s hospital hospice room, and more of Stephen’s friends started arriving; they were coming in from Texas and California and other states far from Pennsylvania. My youngest brother, Christopher (he is five years older than I), was traveling the next day from California. My partner and I bought wine and food. We brought it back to the hospital room. Several of Stephen’s friends arrived. We opened the wine, we talked and laughed, we toasted his life. As **we gathered around Stephen’s bed and shared stories, played music, laughed, and told him how much we loved him, suddenly Stephen sat up, he looked at us, he tried to speak, a tear ran down his face, he exhaled, he lay back down, and he died**. Wake: a watch or vigil held beside the body of someone who has died, sometimes accompanied by ritual observances including eating and drinking. **Defend the dead**. (Philip 2008, 26) What does it mean to defend the dead? To tend to the Black dead and dying: to tend to the Black person, to Black people, always living in the push toward our death? It means work. **It is work: hard emotional, physical, and intellectual work that demands vigilant attendance to the needs of the dying**, to ease their way, and also to the needs of the living. Vigilance, too, because any- and everywhere we are, medical and other professionals treat Black patients differently: often they don’t listen to the concerns of patients and their families; they ration palliative medicine, or deny them access to it altogether. While there are multiple reasons for this (Stein 2007), 16 experience and research tell us “ ‘people assume that, relative to whites, blacks feel less pain because they have faced more hardship.’ . . . Because they are believed to be less sensitive to pain, black people are forced to endure more pain” (Silverstein 2013). 17 We had to work to make sure that Stephen was as comfortable as possible. Being with Stephen and other family and friends of Stephen’s as he died, I **re-experienced the power of the wake**. The power of and in sitting with someone as they die, the important work of sitting (together) in the pain and sorrow of death as a **way of marking, remembering, and celebrating** a life. Wake: grief, celebration, memory, and those among the living who, through ritual, mourn their passing and celebrate their life in particular the watching of relatives and friends beside the body of the dead person from death to burial and the drinking, feasting, and other observances incidental to this. The wake **continued after Stephen’s death**, **to the funeral**, **and then into the gathering and celebration of his life afterward**. And while the wake produces Black death and trauma—“violence . . . precedes and exceeds Blacks” (Wilderson 2010, 76)—we, Black people everywhere and anywhere we are, still produce in, into, and through the wake an insistence on existing: **we insist Black being into the wake.**

#### The Role of the Judge and Ballot is to submit to Blackness. The 1AC’s project of Wake Work is a form of Enslavism studies that provides an epistemic and meta-critical framework for addressing slavery, anti-blackness, and its afterlife. Non-black subjects can partake in this project through a radical disinvestment to their own legacy of humanism that has produced anti-black violence to labor for anti-enslavism. A “sitting with” Black Studies to produce a protocol to disrupt humanism.

**Broeck ‘17** (Broeck Professor of American Cultural Studies at the University of Bremen, 17 (Sabine, Professor of African American studies, gender studies, and black diaspora studies at the University of Bremen, Germany and a Ph.D. from Frankfurt University; 06-21-2017, “‘It is always now’ Beloved: Notes on the Urgency of Enslavism Theory, and Studies”, Accessed: 1-10-2018, *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik,* Vol. 65, Issue 2, 2017, pages. 137-143, JWM)//Elmer

These notes argue for the epistemic and political necessity of a field which has been emerging for some years, but has been neither claimed nor named by its various practitioners from diverse disciplines as such: the transdisciplinary study of enslavism. This might best be described as an archeological project: to protocol (Spillers’s term) modernity’s practices of disappearing its embeddedness in enslavement, which is meant to shift critical focus very deliberately. Re-reading some of my earlier thoughts about this challenge (Broeck 2013a, 2014a) I am struck by their almost desperate insistence to find a framework which enables a politically intentional, epistemic study of a socio-genesis, as Wynter would have it with Fanon, of the abjection of blackness. That larger framework exists, I suggest, in a form that one cannot even call a network in its postmodern turn-of-the-century sense, static as this idea has remained; it becomes alive every day in Black Twitter, and in e-forums, blogs, and collectively used websites1 . Those connective activities of exchange, cooperation, and mobilization have been constantly in flux and recomposing themselves, undersourced or not sourced at all, partly in but not of, the academy – it is in this flow and circulation that black theory, epistemology and practice are made, and made over, re-circulated, discussed, performed and enacted. It is a ‘framework’ which, however, works to a very large extent unconnected to, and agnotologically unregarded by institutions, canons and individuals entrenched in white academia’s neoliberal turfs of, and turns to, positivism, to a commodification even of strands of critical consciousness (see the mainstreamization of postcolonial studies in the academy), and aggressive pandering to the very public and private funding bodies that show the least interest in the fact that Black Lives Matter. In order for scholars, white scholars particularly, to share in this work, both respectfully of black scholarly and activist knowledge and as a specific form of their own labor, a specific form of answerable address, we need a term (Broeck 2014a). This meta-critical, epistemic term, enslavism, will provide both a transdisciplinarily usable frame and an epistemic lens to conceptualize the study of enslavement and its afterlife and not to address slavery restrictively as a contingent, particular and finite historical event. In the following notes I am suggesting what I consider the necessary key moments of re-focusing. 1. The task at hand for white scholars radically critical of and disinvested in holding on to their own legacy of humanism within and beyond the academy as an apparatus, will be specifically to divest from their emotive and affective liaisons and voluntaristic identifications with Black Studies, and to labor for anti-enslavism studies. As I myself have fully understood only by way of being submitted to severe criticism of Afro-German scholarly and activist communities in the last few years, white scholars need to agree with seeing themselves in no ethically legitimate position to pronounce on Black Studies – as that noun signifies to the ongoing building of a resistant knowledge base of, by, and for black communities. Without reverting to essentialist identity politics, Black Studies, as I see it now, needs to be the prerogative of communities who have lived in the absurdity and violence of social death; communities whose negotiations of parameters and pragmatics of their own knowing cannot be the domain of white scholars; communities who have been in constant struggle with white supremacist epistemic agents and institutions, which have willfully abjected black life forms by way of wide-ranging agnotology, or by way of quasi-cannibalistic white-on-black ethnography. 2. That does not mean, though, that there is no work cut out for anti-racist white scholars who want to work against anti-Blackness. My own work over years in African-American studies has partaken in white involvement with however benevolently conceptualized forms of literary and cultural ethnography, and it has taken me years to understand the need for abandoning and renouncing this approach and perspective. This need for white scholars, as I see it, is political, and epistemic: to programmatically disrupt and limit, as far as possible, the workings of humanism, and its ongoing anti-Blackness. 3. In other words, what white scholars have (some of them) and could genuinely contribute(d) to Black Studies are acts of “sitting with” (Sharpe 2016) black knowledge which can enable us to produce a critical protocol, to paraphrase Hortense Spillers, of enslavism as the ongoing afterlife of social, cultural and political anti-Blackness in the future that transatlantic enslavement has made (Hartman 2007). To produce those critical protocols means to re-read the longue durée of humanism in a way that abolishes the human’s ontological reign of life, and of knowledge, based as it has been on black non-existence for the human. 4. Re-reading in this sense involves the painstaking labor of finding the absent presence, and more so detecting the absent absence (Broeck 2014b) of enslavism in the archives of white post-Enlightenment’s entitlements to being and knowledge; to uproot the effects of anti-Blackness, in detail, on European thought, as well as on social, political and cultural practices, including academia’s self-sustaining discourses. This ante-anti-Black (see Sexton 2012) dwelling in and against the archives, and in/against ongoing practice, will produce disruptive effects on the political ontology of (white) humanness, a risk that cannot be avoided. 5. At the same time, enslavism studies will have to be aware of its own severe limitations: by its very existence as an epistemic contribution, it will labor, or wallow, as Frank Wilderson will say (see Howard 2010), in the contradictions of its own necessity and impossibility. I mean both of those last terms with their full weight: how does one communicate to an overwhelming majority of white students and scholars in Europe (and elsewhere) an epistemic respect for a vast and global black archive in the presence of overwhelming white demography, and authority, when one is a white subject, after all, embedded in the machinery of enslavist authority? This question cannot be given the closure of a satisfying answer but must remain a nagging reminder, a persistent vexation. 6. Thinking alongside Afro-Pessimism’s mobile library, but of course not being able to claim its location, I argue for a white agonistic practice vis-à-vis the humanist legacy of one’s own training, which needs not the spectacular one-time-jump into disloyalty, but a fidelity to laboring on said protocol of white enslavist power, ongoing. It requires listening to, and watching the world in attention to, “Black wake work,” to point towards Christina Sharpe’s term (Sharpe 2016). 7

#### You should frame all questions of impacts through the lens of the hold. The logic of debate is terminally interpolated within the logics of captivity. Anti-Blackness crafts surveillance and violence onto black bodies within spaces of education. This means you should put all other impacts on hold in favor of DEFENDING THE DEAD within this space

**Sharpe ‘3** (Sharpe, Christina. In the wake: On blackness and being. Duke University Press, 2016. (Christina Sharpe is currently a professor at York University's department of humanities in the newly-created Black Canadian Studies certificate program)//Elmer

The hold repeats and repeats and repeats in and into the present, into the classroom and the hospital. In December 2013, the New York Times ran a front-page feature called “Invisible Child: Dasani’s Homeless Life in the Shadows” (Elliott 2013). As it stands, the series is as much an exposé of Dasani Coates’s “inheritance” of a life of precarity because of the “bad choices” of a parent (primarily her mother) as it is of the massive and systemic failures of programs set up to address poverty and homelessness. The feature focused on Dasani Coates,39 an eleven- and then twelve-year-old Black girl child, and her family (seven siblings and two parents), who live in one of New York City’s family shelters.40 (Family falls apart, in the wake of the hold and the ship, it cannot hold.) In part 1 of the series, readers are introduced to Dasani at home and as she makes her way to the Susan S. McKinney Secondary School of the Arts (“A Place Where Hope Begins & Dreams Come True”)—a school whose already tight space, we read, may be made even tighter with its impending displacement from its third-floor performance spaces by a(n unwanted and contested) charter school. Once the narrative brings us into the school, we are introduced to Ms. Holmes, the principal of the McKinney School, who is described as a formidable woman. A “towering woman, by turns steely and soft,” Ms. Holmes “wears a Bluetooth like a permanent earring and tends toward power suits. She has been at McKinney’s helm for 15 years and runs the school like a naval ship, peering down its gleaming hallways as if searching the seas for enemy vessels. . . . She leaves her office door permanently open, like a giant, unblinking eye” (Elliott 2013, emphasis mine). Martial metaphors and the language of surveillance subtend the logics of the hold. The woman and the school-as-ship both are described as sanctuaries and sites of surveillance.41 Dasani’s homeroom has “inspirational words” like “Success does not come without sacrifice” (Elliott 2013). What brutal imagination positions a site of surveillance as a sanctuary and for whom? But who and what are to be sacrificed for such “success[es],” and on whose and what terms? Reading that Ms. Holmes suspends Dasani for a week for fighting, we are to understand that for Dasani, already homeless, “to be suspended is to be truly homeless” (Elliott 2013, emphasis mine). It is maritime and martial metaphors like ships, success, struggle, sacrifice, and surveillance that activate this narrative of Dasani Coates, invisible child. (I wrote “inviable” instead of “invisible” child, a mistake that is not a mistake because surely to be an invisible child is also to be an inviable child, and as phrases they both appear alongside that earlier sobriquet “former mother” attached to Aereile Jackson.) Dasani is another little girl with the word Ship on her forehead. As Wynter (2006, emphasis mine) has told us: “The function of the curriculum is to structure what we call ‘consciousness,’ and therefore certain behaviors and attitudes.” And these certain curricular attitudes structure our, all of our, consciousness. Education in the belly of the ship. Dasani’s narrative is one of her instruction in how to live in a world that demands her death, and it is used as curriculum. That is, not only does the “Invisible Child” series feature the education of Dasani but it is, itself, featured in the Times Education section, as this series becomes part of a larger curriculum as a narrative of individual resilience and overcoming—a “Teaching and Learning with the New York Times” that consists of the traumatizing and retraumatizing of Black children for the education of others. Traumatized children being forced to endure more trauma; children in pain being subjected to more pain.42 Both the school and the woman at its head are described as ships, ships in the storm. But we, in the wake, must acknowledge the ship as the storm. Recall Morrison’s Sethe and the Haitian girl child with the word Ship affixed to her forehead so that we might ask again: How can the very system that is designed to unmake and inscribe her also be the one to save her? How can the one marked by the ship (see figure 2.5) be saved by being marked for it?

Information paradox is apriori and physics takes out other reasoning – Outside information can’t ever explain how we ought to cope with anti-blackness and only gets violently reiterated into the world

Murillo’16 (John Murillo III. Quantum Blackanics: Untimely Blackness, and Black Literature out of Nowhere. Diss. Brown University, 2016. Pg 169-172 (B.A., University of California, Irvine, PhD in Philosophy in Department of English at Brown University)//Joey

80 See Sabine Hossenfelder, “If it Quacks like a Black Hole,” posted on BackRe(Action), a blog devoted to physics that she shares with her husband, Stefan Scherer. Sabine Hossenfelder is a theoretical physicist, and the Assistant Professor for High Energy Physics at Nordita, the Nordic Institute for Theoretical Physics. Stefan Scherer is a physicist in the field of heavy ion physics, working in the field of scientific publishing. 81 I need to clarify that a singularity, as it’s thought in terms of a black hole, marks a site at which hat happens. This is where it is theorized that quantum gravity might come into play, having the explanatory power to remove the singularity. Right now, however, the singularity seems to be a source of a **paradox**, as it suggests that information is lost after a certain point. If the black hole evaporates—since black holes appear to evaporate—what happens to that information? This “information paradox” surrounding what exactly happens to the information that ‘goes into’ a black hole is the subject of an ongoing and unresolved ‘debate’ in physics, having a number of proposed solutions (the cited Stephen Hawking paper stirred the pot a bit, portending a solution of its own, but one which is neither ‘new’ **Black revolutionary violence** does not promise redemption, but might provide a way to **render** the impossible and the irredeemable available to the possibility of redemption, without really offering a fixed or clear image of what that redemption could look like. The deathliness that renders time untimely in relation to Blacks, the **deathliness** that **characterizes** untime and all its constitutive features and effects, might make legible the possibility of its own redemption via a Black revolutionary violence that has, as its stakes, being, itself. Taking the risk means making the leap or taking the plunge **into the black hole**, means embracing the inescapability of the tidal forces emanating from its central singularity—the antiblack imposition of the fact of Blackness. As I read him, Fanon describes this unimaginable spacetime as “the zone of nonbeing,” a derelict spatiality and temporality, “an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval might be born.” Only “here” and “now,” or “there” and “then,” along the downward slope(s) of the “zone,” or the inward funnel of the black hole’s gravity well, an “authentic,” which might mean “redemptive,” upheaval might become available to thought. Specifically, this upheaval might be conceived, carried to term, and brought into being (born). The “zone of nonbeing,” the “black hole,” is the only site for the (pro)creation of redemption via an embrace of obliteration; but it is also an “arid and sterile region,” constitutively infertile, or at least, resistant to the kind of redemptive creation that stages or embodies “authentic upheaval” in the form and wake of Black revolutionary violence and its attendant risk of political ontological obliteration. To heed Ursa’s call, to leap into the black hole, to enter into the dereliction of being, is to fall into unimaginable contradiction in the form of an unresolvable paradox.